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# NORTH BRITON

EXTRAORDINARY:

WRITTEN BY

A YOUNG SCOTSMAN,

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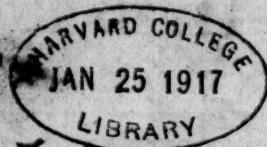
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**T**HE reader of this paper, if any person shall deign to read it, will find it to be really what its title intimates, a North Briton *Extraordinary*; for the author is induced, by many considerations, to proceed in a manner very different from the *ordinary* manner of his celebrated predecessor in this work. No minister ever had an opportunity of refusing him an employment under the government, or of treating him with contempt on account of his character; nor does any discontented nobleman out of place  
give

give him money to abuse those who occasioned his resignation—disadvantages under which the author of the *ordinary* North Briton confessedly laboured, and which, accordingly, gave a very evident and powerful bias to the exertions of his patriotick zeal. The author of this paper writes not, therefore, to calumniate one person, or to gratify the malevolence of another; and as he entertains a sovereign contempt for the opinion of the mob, he disdains to pay his court to them, by making a personal attack upon any particular leading man, however unpopular, or by lavishing unmerited praise upon any other, however high he may at present stand in their esteem. He has the misfortune too, for by our present politicians it must surely be accounted such, still to be influenced by certain prejudices imbibed in early youth; such as an earnest regard for the happiness of the kingdom of Great Britain where he was born, and an insuperable attachment to truth. These prejudices will, by no means, permit him to attempt to raise a civil war, by exasperating one half of his Majesty's subjects against the other, nor to impose on the publick by disguising or inventing facts. At the same time, he will avail himself of one of the most valuable

valuable privileges of British Liberty, to speak out his sentiments with freedom and boldness : but he will on no account employ scurrility and abusive language in place of argument.

*Countrymen*, for tho' born beyond the Tweed, so you will permit me to call you, We, who live in this Northern corner of the island, have beheld, with equal concern and surprise, the violent political contests that have of late distracted you, our fellow-subjects of the South. Instead of the general tranquillity which might have been reasonably expected to result from a peace, that terminated so expensive and so bloody a war, nothing has prevailed among you but riot and uproar, as if we had turned our swords from the publick enemy, with no other view than to plunge them into the bosoms of one another. It added to our concern to observe, that this spirit of sedition, which rendered us so contemptible in the eyes of our neighbours, and produced such pernicious consequences among ourselves, was industriously raised and kept up by a set of factious great men ; who, notwithstanding their flaming professions of patriotism, have, by their conduct, made it sufficiently apparent, that the most  
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fordid self interest has all along been their real motive of action.

For, let us observe how these gentlemen have proceeded:—Have they, in the whole course of their political disputes, discovered the remotest intention seriously to reform any error in government, or to redress any one of the multitude of our publick grievances?—Have they, for example, endeavoured to point out a proper method for relieving the nation of the grievous load of taxes, with which it is at present oppressed, to the extent of more than twelve shillings in the pound; and which, unless a speedy remedy be applied, must inevitably terminate, and that very soon, in the utter ruin of our trade and manufactures?—Have they shewn us, how a more equal mode of taxation is to be obtained, that the industrious poor, upon whose labours the existence of our state entirely depends, may be taxed no higher, at least, than our great landholders, ministers of state, and stockjobbers; and that a small part of the numberless impositions, on the most common necessities of life, may be transferred to some of the extravagant articles of luxury, at present so much in fashion among the rich and great?—Have they

they told us, how we are to shake ourselves loose of that innumerable swarm of revenue officers, with whom every corner of the kingdom is now overrun, and who, without contributing in the smallest degree themselves to increase the publick wealth, live in idleness and profusion on the expences of their useful fellow citizens; and, besides their unlawful extortions under the name or perquisites, consume, in fixed salaries, an unconscionable proportion of the sums levied, with such difficulty, for the use of government?—Have they prescribed any means of rooting out a set of harpies, more useless and more destructive still: I mean pensioners and possessors of sinecure offices?—Or, finally, have they been at pains to devise any effectual cure for that frightful system of corruption, which has at length arrived at such a pitch, as to throw the absolute disposal of our liberty and property into the hands of the first minister, who shall be daring or wicked enough to employ his influence for that purpose? No, my countrymen, this would have been in effect to destroy the very objects of their ambition; as all they were contending for, was the power of converting these publick grievances to the

the private emolument of themselves and their dependents.

Instead of this, they have wholly employed themselves in reviling one another with the most illiberal abuse, and in reciprocally decrying the integrity and abilities of those for the time in power : and indeed their endeavours for this last purpose have been wonderfully successful. The people of England, or rather, perhaps of London, have not failed, in their usual way, through a mistaken zeal for liberty, and the good of their country, to interest themselves in the dispute with their ordinary heat and fury ; but, far from remedying any abuses in government, they have only shewn themselves the dupes of a parcel of turbulent, mercenary, crafty courtiers, equally devoid of honesty and capacity, whose only fixed principle is an insatiable avarice, and whose sole study has been to prevent us from prying too deeply into their conduct, by amusing us with an *Ignus fatuus*.

The attention of all ranks among us has been, now for more than six years, almost totally engrossed by these political squabbles amongst our leading men ; whose chief view having been to enrich themselves and their party, the real interests



rests of the kingdom have, in the mean time, been neglected, the p——k m——y scandalously lavished away in b——s and enormous p——ns; and many o——s of high trust disposed of, by way of reversion, to the children of those in power. These practices are now become so frequent and avowed, that, if a proper check be not quickly devised for them, we may have the misfortune to see, even in the course of this age, one half of our publick revenues diverted, from the urgent uses of government, to bribe a noisy pack of empty declaimers, and to pension a herd of rapacious courtiers and superannuated statesmen; and, what is perhaps more alarming still, we may see every important office in the kingdom, whether in the immediate departments of government, or even in our courts of justice, entailed, for generations together, on the children of children unborn.

But what we account the most unfortunate circumstance of all, in this political controversy, is, that these contenders for places and pensions thought it necessary, for their private purposes, to set up a distinction between the inhabitants of the South and North parts of the island of Britain, in contradiction to one of the most solemn con-

conventions ever entered into by two independent states ; and by reviving those jealousies and animosities, which, unhappily both for England and Scotland, had formerly subsisted between them, to destroy that unanimity which alone has raised us to such an envied pitch of glory and power, and to provoke us to commence a civil war, which must unavoidably have proved more bloody in its progress, and more destructive in its event, than the fatal contention of the red and white roses. And for what mighty purpose was this detestable attempt made?—Why, truly, no other than that of disgracing one minister of Scots extraction, whom they regarded as a dangerous rival in the royal favour.

Although this minister had been educated, and had spent his whole life in England ; although his whole fortune, except a very small part of it, was situated in England ; and although all his immediate and most endearing connections were with English families of the first distinction, whence, by every tie, whether moral or political, he was, supposing the interests of England and Scotland different, infinitely more concerned in the welfare of the former than of the latter ; yet those worthy patriots, equally regardless of the dictates  
of

of truth as of the happiness of their country, resolved to overlook all those other circumstances, and to avail themselves of that of his being born of Scots parents to render him odious to the English mob. Ashamed, however, openly to appear in so unworthy a cause, they pitched on a man destitute of every sentiment of religion and honour, of obscure birth, desperate fortune, turbulent disposition, and who was exasperated against the Scot on account of some personal indignity \* received from him, to be the tool of their private vengeance. Glad of so favourable  
an

\* While his thoughts were employed on the government of Canada, he wanted to see Lord Bute, then secretary of state: he waited two full hours, but the secretary not coming as expected, our would-be governor departed in disgust; and, as is usual in such cases, a flaming patriot. Now, if Lord Bute refused having any connexion with this man, because he suspected him to be as factious and turbulent as he was profligate, I admire his penetration as a man, *though perhaps not his conduct as a politician.*

From some circumstances it appears, that Mr. Wilkes did not suspect general warrants, or a seizure of papers to be illegal, till after he heard that one was issued out against himself, on the very morning he was apprehended by it. In  
this



an opportunity of indulging his own resentment, of ingratiating himself with a party, and of earning a subsistence, this man chearfully undertook the office of a publick incendiary, and acquitted himself of the task in a manner suitable to his character. He exerted every resource of his ingenuity, to revive and inflame all the vulgar prejudices, that, in the most hostile times, had prevailed amongst the English against their Northern neighbours; and, to effect the disgrace of one man, he did not hesitate to revile a whole nation with the basest scurrility.

Happily for Great Britain, that ferocious warlike spirit, which was formerly the ruling passion of the inhabitants of Scotland, was then subsided: we therefore despised the torrent of silly abuse, which was so plentifully poured out against us, because it appeared to be calculated only for the lowest mob, and of such a nature as would disgust every

this interval, he probably learnt it from some pettifogging attorney, for it never was a secret among the gentlemen of the law; his behaviour, and the spirit he shewed afterwards, were the effects of necessity and despair. Hence it is manifest, that the whole merit of the impostor, in this transaction, consisted in lending his *name*, which cost him nothing, and in which the printer, and even his journeyman, shared equally with him.

every person of common understanding ; and we pitied the man, who could prostitute the small portion of genius that nature has bestowed on him, in so villainous a work. We doubted not that the candour, generosity, and good sense, for which the English are so justly celebrated, would in a little time open the eyes of such as might at first suffer themselves to be deluded by the artful representations of this infamous slanderer, and make them sensible of the injustice of his insinuations.

But tho' we have good reason to believe, that these our expectations have been in a great measure justified, yet it is with extreme sorrow we perceive, that the minds of many among our brethren of England still retain injurious impressions of the inhabitants of this country, not indeed so much owing to the superficial labours of the authour of the North Briton, as to those of other writers of much superior abilities, who supposed it might answer their private ends to improve on the crude allegations of that author. Others, again, observing how highly the mob were delighted with the national reflections employed by those writers, studied to imitate them in that respect, which they found the surest method of procuring a reading to their otherwise stupid productions.

productions. By these means the present taste of political writing, is, at all events, to revile the poor Scots. No sooner, therefore, is a courtier, in consequence of some private squabble among our grandees, struck off the pension list, or dismissed from some sinecure office, than he directs the whole artillery of his own eloquence, and that of a parcel of hireling writers, against the *favourite*, who is still supposed, how truly it is neither my business nor intention to inquire, to be the main spring of all ministerial commotions; and in gratifying his resentment against the fancied author of his disgrace, he vents the most virulent invectives against the whole body of the Scots nation. Hence the epithet *Scottish* is now hardly ever to be met with in South Britain, except as conveying an idea of the highest reproach; and the vulgar of that country, both high and low, affect to regard every native of North Britain as constitutionally a villain, either utterly devoid of every generous independent sentiment, and our country in general as the disgrace and ruin of their own.

How far this manner of proceeding is reconcilable with that liberal cast of thinking, which, among foreigners, is accounted the distinguishing characteristic of Englishmen, with that generosity



rosity of behaviour on which the English value themselves so much, or with the principles of sound policy, I shall leave to others to determine ; but as a Scotsman, and, what is more, as a friend to the general happiness of the Island of Great Britain, I think myself obliged to endeavour, by a temperate and candid representation of facts, to vindicate my countrymen, to the conviction of every Englishmen who *will* be convinced, from such of these injurious assertions as carry with them the least appearance of plausibility.

To undertake a serious refutation of the numberless topicks of vulgar abuse so copiously insisted on by the author of the North Briton and his imitators, in order to render the inhabitants of Scotland ridiculous and hateful in the eyes of the English mob, were as impertinent as it is repugnant to my inclination ; and to attempt a recrimination in the same stile on you our fellow subjects of England, whatever pleasure it might afford to a certain class of readers, were no less inconsistent with my design than it is above my capacity. At the same time, I cannot help observing, that to a writer, blest with a moderate degree of the *scolding* talents of the author of the North Briton, a large fund of materials, for executing

cuting a task of this kind, would not be wanting. Such a writer would find an excellent opportunity for displaying his declamatory talents, in exposing the absurdity of a whole nation being reproached on account of a rebellion unluckily commenced in their country, solely because its remoteness from the seat of government rendered it the most convenient for such an attempt, by a man who had not only endeavoured, by the most daring personal attack on the best of Sovereigns, to alienate from him the confidence and affection of his subjects, but had actually occasioned an open rebellion against the laws of his country. Again, what more favourable subject would he desire on which to exercise his ridicule, than that of a country having been upbraided for its poverty by a notorious bankrupt, who was at that very moment subsisting on the contributions of his acquaintance, and openly soliciting the publick to pay his debts by subscription.\*

\* Does not the late candidate for the greatest city in the world, *now* representative for the first county in Great Britain, return most humble thanks in the newspapers for any pitiful donation that is sent him? See his thanks in the papers to that generous hand who sent him £100.

On the other hand, in point of national abuse, such a writer might perhaps find means to prove, that folly, vice, and disease of every denomination (for, however strange it may seem, even *disease* has been made a subject of reproach against the poor Scots) flourish as abundantly, at least, in South as in North Britain: and he might find very ample matter for a species of wit, not indeed the most delicate, but which has been very much, and very successfully cultivated by the author of the North Briton and his coadjutors, in proving, for example, that more people die annually, within the city of London alone, of *surfeits*, than within the whole kingdom of Scotland of *famine*—That *self-murder* and the *French pox* prevail more in England than the *itch* does in Scotland—And that there are more *cuckolds* within the bills of mortality than *Jacobites* in all the country beyond the Tweed.

On the other hand, what a fruitful field of personal abuse presents itself, particularly, against the famous personage, whose rancorous soul first conceived the truly hellish design of sacrificing private reputation, in a public dispute, by the vilest arts of calumny and detraction! Shew me another man in the kingdom of Great Britain, whose life exhibits such an uniform scene of all the most a-



trocious vices and villainies that ever dishonoured human nature, as that of the King's Bench *Hero*: even sedition and blasphemy have not been wanting to complete the shocking picture. I will, however, say no more on so disagreeable a subject, for the very idea of such a character is painful.

But till a writer, endowed with some portion of this patriot's spirit, shall make his appearance on this side of the question, let the author of the North Briton retain the undisputed possession of this precious province of mobbish declamation. For, as I write with a view to conciliate, not to inflame, I will carefully avoid all asperity of expression, and every argument founded on no better ground than vulgar prejudices. Arguments of this sort, however well they may be adapted to the capacity of such patriots as the gentleman *in the two dirty red waistcoats, but without any coat*, who distinguished himself so highly in St George's Fields, can certainly make no other impression on a sensible and ingenuous mind than that of abhorrence and disgust.

The author of the North Briton, and the other political writers, who have of late endeavoured, with all their might, to provoke the inhabitants of this island to cut the throats of one another,  
not

not only ventured, in direct contradiction to the fundamental principle of the Union, to arraign, as an attack on the English constitution, the appointment of a Scotsman\* to any of the great offices of state, but likewise to represent all Scotsmen, in general, as *of such an abject slavish disposition, and such devoted abettors of arbitrary sway*, as rendered them wholly improper for holding any office of trust under a free government like that of England, or for enjoying any share in the private esteem or public councils of a British monarch. In support of this assertion, they insisted, with

\* It is plain the alarm was first rung upon the approach of Lord Bute to the helm of affairs, and, it would seem, his country is the only crime they can lay to his charge. We had borne, for fifty years before his promotion, our share of all the disgrace abroad, and oppression at home, that were brought on the British nation by roguish or blundering English ministers, without ever making their country answerable for their crimes. Even when the spirited Mr. Pitt restored the reputation of our arms and councils, no Scotsman ever withheld his share of applause, because that minister was born south of Tweed: nor afterwards was England charged with his faults, when he engaged us too deeply in continental affairs, contrary to the tenor of all his former professions. Let then my Lord Bute be regarded as a Briton, and, as such, be entitled to no particular share of our love or hatred.

with particular acrimony, on the tyrannical acts of the first princes of the Stuart family who filled the English throne, as the effect of Scottish principles; and reviled, at the same time, those princes in the most opprobrious terms, without reflecting, I dare say, that by so doing they offered the grossest insult to our present excellent Sovereign, who wears the crown of Great Britain in consequence of no other title than his being a descendent of that family.

But of all the extravagant assertions into which the fury of party zeal has hurried those writers, the most unfortunate, without comparison, is this of the *slavish* disposition natural to Scotsmen, and *their devoted attachment to arbitrary sway*. As it is, however, one of the capital arguments insisted on, not only by the author of the North Briton, who is now exercising his superior abilities on a portion of the English history, particularly chosen by him with a view further to illustrate this his darling position, but likewise by others, from whose learning and candour more accuracy might have been expected, it may be proper briefly to enquire how far it is well founded; though I must say, the point appears so very clear to me, that I am almost ashamed to argue it.

In



In the first place then, as a proof that the Scots, instead of being of a *slavish* disposition, *have been, from the earliest times, actuated by the most brave and independent spirit.* I must be excused by our Southern neighbours for putting them in mind, That those warlike Romans, who found means *to reduce their country into a province,* never were able to make any lasting settlement *beyond the Tweed*—That those Saxons, who imposed *the yoke of servitude* on the inhabitants of *South Britain,* when abandoned by the Romans, *attempted in vain to extend their dominions into Scotland*—That the Danes, *who subdued both Britons and Saxons,* found it impossible, *after repeated invasions of our country,* in which a deluge of blood was spilt, to *hold possession of a single province*—That even William of Normandy, who made so complete a conquest of England, was effectually stopped in his victorious career by the Scots, whose king, Malcolm III. generously protected, in spite of the Conqueror, the lineal heir of the English throne, together with many of the most eminent English barons, who flocked into our country to enjoy that liberty which was no longer to be found in their own.

But this is not all: the same spirit of valour and independency enabled the Scots to maintain, through a struggle continued for ages together, and attended with a dreadful effusion of blood, the liberties of their country full and unimpaired, against the most violent attacks of the greatest English monarchs, particularly the two Edwards, I. and III. who, though confessedly the most artful, brave, and powerful princes of their time; though possessed not only of England, a country of near double the extent of Scotland, but likewise of Wales, Ireland, and a great part of France, and though supported by a numerous faction of the Scots, who, in consequence of a controverted title to their crown, were fatally divided among themselves, a circumstance of which their enemies took the full advantage, nevertheless found it impossible to subdue our country.\*

It

\* That we knew to defend our rights at home, will also appear by the whole tenor of our history, and in particular, the famous letter of the Scots Barons to the Pope in 1320, is an authentic testimony of the principles of our ancestors. They there boldly assert their independency on Rome, and their right of choosing a king for themselves; and this too at a time, when their neighbours in England were groaning under both civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. In later times, the reformation

It is apparent, therefore, that those writers, in reproaching the Scots on account of their *slavish pusillanimous disposition*, are shamefully ignorant in the history both of their own country and of ours, and that they could hardly have advanced a more groundless assertion.

But let us next inquire, whether the other branch of their proposition, namely, *that the Scots are devoted abettors of arbitrary sway*, be better founded. I think it necessary, however, to premise, that though in discussing this point, I shall be obliged to mention certain proceedings of the Scots nation, which, however expressive of the *liberal independent sentiments* entertained by that people, shall no doubt, to many sensible people, appear highly violent and outrageous, yet it must be understood, that so far from approving of some of these proceedings, I consider them as altogether

reformation furnishes us with a very remarkable contrast in the spirit of the two nations. What was brought about in Scotland, and forced on the crown, by a free and enquiring people, was in England imposed on the abject people by the arbitrary will of a lustful and capricious tyrant.

If, to enjoy Anna Bullen, Henry must have turned Turk, the English nation would undoubtedly have been musselmen at this day.



altogether indefensible on any solid principle of good government. Here, indeed, our accusers seem to have erred egregiously in choosing their ground; for they should certainly have found a much fairer opportunity of abusing the Scots, for a certain ungovernable seditious temper, that rendered them impatient of the slightest controul, than for being servile favourers of despotick measures. They undoubtedly inherited more of the Grecian than of the Persian spirit.---But to proceed.

Robert I. was not only one of our wisest and bravest princes, but had rendered himself, in a peculiar manner, the idol of his subjects, on account of his having gloriously retrieved, from the very brink of perdition, the honour and independency of their country, by a course of the most heroick exploits recorded in history, and particularly by the decisive battle of Bannockburn; wherein, with a handful of men, he completely defeated a most formidable army, commanded by Edward II. of England in person. Yet how was this same Robert answered, when in a parliament holden at Perth, he desired his Barons to produce the charters by which they held their lands?---They, to a man, drew their swords, and

and told him *these* are our charters. Did this favour like a tame submission to the arbitrary pleasure of their prince?

Our first king of the name of James, when a boy only fourteen years old, having been made prisoner by the English in his passage to France, although during a suspension of hostilities between the two nations, was, for the space of twenty years, detained a captive in England; where, however, he received an education suitable to his birth, first under Henry IV. and afterwards; under his son Henry V. James possessing a fine genius, and an uncommon degree of penetration, profited fully by the excellent education bestowed on him, and not only became, in a short time, master of all the ordinary branches of knowledge studied in those days, but likewise acquired a thorough acquaintance with the art of government, particularly that of England, where it was then a ruling maxim in the politicks of the prince, to take every occasion of encreasing the royal domain at the expence of the great barons. As this was a lesson no where more useful than in Scotland, where many barons possessed a territory little inferior to the patrimony of the crown, James was no sooner released from his captivity, than

than he began to put in practice this maxim of English politicks: but, in executing his scheme, he proceeded with rather to much precipitation, and thereby so provoked his subjects, that they quickly formed a conspiracy against him, which obliged him to relinquish, very abruptly, an expedition he was then successfully prosecuting against England. This did not, however, stop the machinations of the conspirators, of whom the most active was Robert Graham, the uncle and guardian of the young earl Palatine of Strathern, who had been, by James, very unjustly dispossessed, under colour of law, of that extensive earldom. The king, at last attoned for his oppression with his life.---Has this the appearance of a blind submission to despotick measures?

James II. regardless of this example, pursued the very same project that had occasioned his father's ruin. This conduct involved him in continual disputes with his principal subjects, which, in all probability, would have proved as fatal to him as to his father, if an accidental death had not put an early period to his reign.

James III. by unwisely imitating the conduct of his father and grandfather, rendered his reign one continued scene of commotions, till at length  
his



his nobles were exasperated to such a degree, that they levied forces and opposed him in the open field. The king lost his life in the battle. This infatuated prince had his *favourites* too, who engrossed his whole confidence, laboured to encrease his jealousy of his principal barons, and, in a word, directed all his councils. But those favourites were, like my friend the author of the North Briton, *unprincipled fellows of obscure birth, and like him acted from private motives of resentment and self-interest*. They met with a fate worthy of their rank and their crimes: The discontented barons went in a body to the tent of the king, though then at the head of a powerful army, seized on six of those miscreants, and hanged them over a neighbouring bridge.—Looks this like a slavish complaisance for the will of their sovereign?

It must be remembered, that in this enquiry I have confined myself to a few of the most striking instances of the publick spirited opposition made by the subjects of Scotland to what they deemed illegal encroachments on their privileges. To mention the whole were an endless task; for, from the return of James I. from his English captivity, where he had learnt that system of politics

liticks which was productive of such fatal consequences to himself and his posterity, to the glorious æra of the revolution, the internal history of Scotland exhibits, in a great measure, one perpetual struggle between the prerogative of the crown, and the privileges of the people.

To what extremity the disputes were carried in the time of our lovely but unfortunate queen Mary, must be so well known to every Englishman of any reading, as to make it unnecessary for me to remind him of it. She was, by her subjects, obliged to encourage a religion contrary to that of her heart, and to persecute those of her own persuasion—She was forced to receive, as her husband, a man for whom she entertained no affection—She was opposed by them in battle—made a prisoner—dethroned---and at last expelled her own kingdom. In these distressful circumstances, she threw herself into the arms of her nearest relation, Elizabeth of England, who was a Queen like herself, but as cruel, absolute, and arbitrary, as Mary was tender hearted, complying, and oppressed. There, instead of meeting with the kindness and protection due to her blood, her sex, and her misfortunes, she underwent a scene of persecution and distress, that would have dishonoured the  
most

most barbarous prince, and which cannot be read without exciting the deepest compassion. Elizabeth, actuated by a mean spirited jealousy of her beauty and accomplishments, kept her close prisoner, under various pretences, for no less a space than eighteen years. But not satisfied with making her undergo so long a course of the most rigorous oppression, the savage soul of Elizabeth could be no otherways appeased than with the blood of the unhappy Mary, whose grey head was at last severed from her body on a scaffold.

Mary's reign, likewise, presents us with the fate of a supposed *favourite*. Rizzio an Italian, and the private secretary of Mary for her foreign dispatches, was supposed to have acquired too great influence in Mary's councils. A conspiracy, therefore, was formed against him, and he was murdered in his mistress's presence.

From what has been said, we think it abundantly plain, notwithstanding the ignorant assertions of our late dabblers in political controversy, that of all the nations of Europe, not excepting our brethren of England, the disposition of the Scots was the most repugnant to arbitrary government. But, still further to satisfy you, my countrymen, of this truth, I will just inform  
you



you of two or three of the fundamental principles of the ancient Scottish constitution, that so you may be able to draw a comparison between it and the present constitution of Great Britain.

The parliament of Scotland anciently consisted of *all who held any portion of Land, however small, of the crown, by military service*. This parliament appointed the times of its own meeting and adjournment, and committees to superintend the administration during the intervals of parliament—It had a commanding power in all matters of government—It appropriated the publick money, ordered the keeping of it, and called for the accompts—It arm'd the people, and appointed commanders—It named and commissioned ambassadors—It granted and limited pardons—It appointed judges and courts of judicature—It named officers of state and privy counsellors—It annexed and alienated the revenues of the crown, and restrained grants by the king. The king of Scotland had no *negative* voice in parliament—nor could he either declare war—make peace—or conclude any other publick business of importance, without the advice and approbation of parliament.

But

But still, perhaps, these gentlemen will triumphantly ask me, where James, the first prince of the Stuart line who reigned in England, imbibed the extravagant notions of *Divine indefeasible right—Passive obedience—Non resistance, &c.* which he was continually labouring to inculcate, and which, in the sequel, proved so fatal to his son and grandson.

To me it appears extremely improbable, that the situation of James's affairs in Scotland could suggest these despotic notions to that prince, or that he could entertain any reasonable expectation of ever persuading the people of that country to adopt them. The whole tenor of their behaviour, towards every one of his six immediate predecessors, but particularly his own mother, whose melancholy fate must have been recent in his memory, nay even towards himself, left him no room to hope that they would give any countenance to doctrines so diametrically opposite to those on which they and their forefathers had so uniformly acted. On the contrary, nothing was more probable, than that the bad suggestion of them would inspire his subjects with such a degree of indignation, as might be no otherwise allayed  
than

than by his dethronement at least, if not his death.

Besides the unanswerable argument against this supposition, arising from the situation of James's affairs in Scotland, and the disposition of the people of that country, there is one of a private nature, but no less conclusive, perhaps, than the former; and that is, the sentiments of his principal tutor, Buchanan, than whom no writer whatever, in any age or nation, ever carried *opposing* principles, if I may use the expression, to a greater height. Of this fact, that author's elegant history of Scotland affords the most satisfactory evidence. But not satisfied with what he had occasionally advanced there, Buchanan ventured to compose a separate treatise, entitled, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, professedly intended to prove, among other points, that upon the general principles of reason and expediency, all subjects have an inherent right to oppose the tyrannical attempts of their sovereigns, and to oblige them, by every possible means, not even excepting dethronement and death, to conform their conduct to the laws of the kingdom; and that the people of Scotland in particular, had, from the earliest times, exercised this right as often as circumstances required.—



quired.—This dissertation is written with such uncommon elegance of language, and ingenuity of argument, as justly intitles it to a place among the most perfect productions in the same species of writing.

But it may be worth while to consider, whether the state of English affairs, or the general disposition of the people of that country, at the time when James had a moral certainty of succeeding to the English crown, were such as might possibly have suggested such doctrines to that prince. Here my countrymen of England must forgive me for reminding them of an important fact in the history of their country, namely, *That in the same proportion as the power of the subject in Scotland gained on that of the crown, the power of the crown in England gained on that of the subject.* Those powerful barons, who in the days of John, of Henry III. of Edward II. and of Richard the II. had converted the government of England into a kind of Aristocracy, in the course of the long and bloody contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, had not only ruined their fortunes, but, in a great measure, extirpated their families; while in the mean time the royal domain, by repeated forfeitures and an-

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nexations,

nexations, had increased to an exorbitant pitch. Accordingly, it is certain, that from the period of that fatal dispute, *The princes of the house of Tudor governed the people of England in the most arbitrary manner.*

*Henry VII.* the first of that race, practised, without controul, the most oppressive extortion.—His son *Henry VIII.* ruled with a rod of iron, and carried his tyranny to such a shocking length, that under frivolous pretences, and in express contradiction to every principle of justice and humanity, he caused to be struck off, on publick scaffolds, the heads of many of his best and noblest subjects.—*Mary* exceeded, if possible, even her father in tyranny, cruelty, and injustice.—And *Elizabeth*, besides the other tyrannical qualities of her father and sister, inherited no inconsiderable portion of their bloody disposition. Hence, during her long reign, every article of the so much boasted English constitution was arbitrarily broken through; and the publick scaffolds streamed with the innocent blood of her greatest subjects: and it is particularly to be remarked, that the two most tyrannical establishments ever instituted by any English prince, viz. the

the Star Chamber, and High Commission court, were children of Elizabeth's despotick reign.

All this being well known to James, it was extremely natural for him to desire to reign as absolutely as those his immediate predecessors. But, as cruelty evidently appears to have been no part of his character, he did not chuse to support his authority by the violent measures they had employed. James followed a method more agreeable to his natural disposition: he reduced the doctrines of despotism to certain abstract propositions of the nature of those taken notice of above; in the demonstration of which, he proposed to himself the double pleasure of convincing his subjects of the truth of those favourite doctrines, and, at the same time, of giving the world a shining proof of his rhetorical powers, and his profound skill in the science of argumentation.

In every view, therefore, it seems more reasonable to suppose, that those despotick maxims of king James, for which the poor Scots have been so grossly reproached, were in fact the growth of England itself, or at least suggested to him by the situation of affairs in that kingdom. Those writers, therefore, who pretend to instruct us in the nature of our constitution, and stand  
forth



forth as censors of government, in reviling the Scots on this account, have either been shamefully ignorant of the history of the kingdom, whose constitution they presume to explain, or else have been guilty of the grossest calumny.

I cannot conclude on this point, without taking notice of the behaviour of the Scots, on occasion of the great effort made for publick liberty in the time of Charles I. The history of that important period informs us, that the Scots were the first who bravely took up arms in defence of their privileges, while their neighbours of England were, in their usual way, wrangling and disputing: and it is an indisputable fact, that to the vigorous proceedings of the Scots at that juncture, the success of the parliament party was chiefly owing. In like manner, as they were the first who opposed the unconstitutional attempts of the father, so were they the first who endeavoured to restore the publick tranquillity by bringing back the son.

Nor were the Scots less zealous or active in asserting their liberties against the tyrannical encroachments of James VII. and in promoting the Revolution, which, whatever some ignorant historians, and more ignorant political pamphleteers may

may boast of Magna Charta, was alone the glorious æra of British liberty.

Having thus proved, to the conviction, I hope, of every person of sense and candour, that the people of Scotland have been, from the earliest times, animated by the warmest glow of liberty, and thence testified, on every occasion, an insuperable aversion to arbitrary government, and a more than English detestation of worthless royal favourites, I will now proceed to the principal business of this paper, namely, to enquire, whether the present connection of England with Scotland be so advantageous to the latter, or so prejudicial to the former, as the author of the North Briton and his followers have ventured to insinuate.

As nothing could be more obvious than the expediency of having all the inhabitants of this island united into one people, actuated by the same common interest, and governed by the same king, so it evidently appears from history that this was an object very early attended to.

The first favourable opportunity, for carrying this important measure into execution, occurred in the time of Edward I. when, upon the death of king Alexander III. of Scotland, the crown of that kingdom devolved on Alexander's infant grand-

grand-daughter, who is known in history by the name of the Maiden of Norway. This opportunity of uniting in his family the entire sovereignty of the island of Britain was not lost by Edward, who, immediately on Alexander's death, set on foot a negociation with the Scots barons for obtaining their consent to a marriage between their young queen and his eldest son Edward of Carnarvon. Edward managed this negociation with his usual address, and at last, in spite of a powerful opposition among the Scottish nobility, and the general dislike of the body of the people, succeeded in his project: but the conditions under which the Scots agreed to the match are highly worthy of our particular attention, as they furnish a very striking proof how extremely anxious the Scots of those days were to guard against every thing that might, in any degree, affect the independency of their country. The conditions were these.\*

“ That the rights, laws, liberties, and customs  
 “ of Scotland shall ever remain entire and  
 “ unalterable, and the kingdom continue sepa-  
 “ rated, divided, and free in itself, without any

\* Fœder. Anglican. p. 489.

“ subjection,



“ subjection, by its true bounds and limits, as it  
 “ had been before—That if Edward and Marga-  
 “ ret shall die without issue of the body of Mar-  
 “ garet, the kingdom shall revert entire, free  
 “ and independent, to the next immediate heir---  
 “ That the kingdom of Scotland shall have its  
 “ chancellor, officers of state, courts of judicature,  
 “ &c. as before, and that a new seal shall be made,  
 “ and kept by the chancellor, but with the or-  
 “ dinary arms of Scotland engraven on it—That  
 “ parliaments, when called to treat of matters  
 “ concerning the state and inhabitants of Scot-  
 “ land, shall be holden within the bounds of that  
 “ kingdom—That no duties, taxes, levies of  
 “ men, &c. shall be exacted in Scotland, but  
 “ such, as being usual in former times, shall con-  
 “ sist with the common interest and good of the  
 “ nation.”

The death of queen Margaret prevented this  
 marriage from taking effect. The divisions,  
 however, that arose among the Scots in conse-  
 quence of the subsequent competition for their  
 crown, afforded Edward a more convenient oppor-  
 tunity, than even his most sanguine wishes could  
 have desired, of making the kingdom of Scot-  
 land

land dependent on England, and that without subjecting himself to the disagreeable restraints just mentioned; but the means he behoved to employ for this purpose, were of a very different nature from those before concerted. The event is well known. Edward, after having, to all appearance, completely subdued the Scots, chiefly by the assistance of the Scots themselves, and after having taken the most effectual measures for securing his conquest, by destroying and carrying off all their records, together with the other monuments of their independency, and by detaining those of their countrymen, from whom he apprehended any disturbance, prisoners in England, nevertheless, before his death, had the mortification to see all his endeavours frustrated, and the brave Scots, after many miseries his cruel policy had inflicted on them, once more take up arms to assert their liberty.

Edward III. a prince as artful and brave as his grandfather, and much more powerful, adopted the same plan of policy with regard to the Scots; and under pretence of supporting Baliol's title to their crown, exerted his utmost efforts to make a conquest of their country. But after having in  
 person

person conducted into Scotland no fewer than nine different expeditions, in the course of which he had gained considerable advantages over the Scots, owing in a great measure to the vigorous efforts of the Scottish faction that favoured Baliol, and had repeatedly laid waste their country with fire and sword; and after having made their king, as well as many of their chief barons prisoners, Edward found it impossible to accomplish his purpose by force, and therefore had recourse to negotiation. As the event of this negotiation reflects singular honour on the prudence as well as the magnanimity of those ancient Scots, I will make no apology for inserting entire the terms of agreement\* proposed by Edward, especially as they will not take up much room.

“ *Imo.* That towards a final peace, and a happy  
 “ union of the two kingdoms, the king of Scot-  
 “ land should propose to the community of his  
 “ subjects, that in case he himself should die with-  
 “ out heirs of his own body, which God forbid,  
 “ they would agree and consent, that the king  
 “ of England and his heirs should succeed him in

\* Barnes, page 426, 427.



“ the throne : † upon which condition the king  
 “ of England became bound: *2do.* That he  
 “ should forgive and for ever discharge the whole  
 “ sum still due for the ransom of king David. *3tio.*  
 “ That he should instantly surrender and give up  
 “ to king David, and the crown of Scotland, all  
 “ the towns and territories formerly possessed by  
 “ king Robert Bruce, particularly the town,  
 “ castle, and county of Berwick, the castle of and  
 “ neighbouring country to Roxborough, the cas-  
 “ tles

† This stipulation, supposing it to have taken effect, was  
 of very small importance to king David : for, besides the  
 strong objections to the title of the *Brucean* race to the  
 throne of Scotland, which, by the rules of inheritance for  
 several ages past observed in Scotland as well as most other  
 kingdoms in Europe, undoubtedly belonged to the *Baliol*  
 family, David, at this time, had no other near relation ex-  
 isting, except one nephew, Robert, son of the High Steward,  
 by his eldest sister. Now, all our historians inform us, that  
 Robert had, a little while before this period, incurred the se-  
 vere displeasure of the king his uncle, as well as of the Scots  
 nation in general, by his behaviour at the battle of Durham,  
 where the king had been made prisoner : which, if not traite-  
 rous, as was then on very probable grounds violently sus-  
 pected, was, at least, cowardly. It cannot therefore be  
 supposed that king David was very solicitous about securing  
 the otherwise doubtful right of succession of this Robert.

" tles of Jedburgh, Lochmaben, &c. 4to. That  
 " he should give full fatisfaction and equivalent  
 " estates in England to the earl of Athole, the  
 " lords de Beaumont, Percy, Ferrers, Talbot,  
 " &c. for their claims and other possessions in  
 " Scotland. 5to. *That he should repone king David*  
 " *to all the rights, dignities and territories, (that is,*  
 " *to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland,*  
 " *Westmorland, Huntington, palatinate of Cbeſter,*  
 " *&c.) his ancestors and predeceſſors had ever en-*  
 " *joyed in England:* provided, nevertheless, that  
 " he and his heirs, kings of Scotland, should do  
 " homage for them allenary, and not at all for  
 " the kingdom of Scotland itself, to the king of  
 " England and his heirs. 6to. *That in all events*  
 " *the name, title and dignity of the kingdom of Scot-*  
 " *land should be honourably and inviolably preserved,*  
 " without union or annexation to that of England;  
 " and that, for this effect, the sovereign of both  
 " should be ſtiled the *kings*, in the plural num-  
 " ber, or otherwise, *the king of England and Scot-*  
 " *land.* 7mo. That the ſaid ſovereign, after being  
 " crowned king of England, *should come in person,*  
 " *and alſo be crowned king of Scotland* at Scoon,  
 " in the marble chair, which ſhould forthwith  
 " be tranſmitted from London to Scoon. 8vo.

" *That*

“ *That he should keep his Scots parliament within*  
 “ *the bounds of Scotland, and no where else.*  
 “ *9no. That at his coronation he should swear*  
 “ *to maintain the church of Scotland free and*  
 “ *independent of all archbishops and others who-*  
 “ *ever, the see of Rome only excepted, as*  
 “ *also the laws and statutes made by the good*  
 “ *kings of Scotland, and should not call, nor*  
 “ *suffer any Scotsman to be called, out of the king-*  
 “ *dom of Scotland to any judicatory in being.*  
 “ *10mo. That he should suffer no ecclesiastical digni-*  
 “ *ties nor revenues within Scotland to be conferred on*  
 “ *any but Scotsmen. 11mo. That all temporal dig-*  
 “ *nities and places of profit, such as those of chancel-*  
 “ *lor, chamberlain, judge, sheriff, provost, baillie,*  
 “ *guardians of towns and castles, within Scotland,*  
 “ *should be entrusted with none but Scotsmen. 12mo.*  
 “ *That all prelates, earl, barons, freeholders,*  
 “ *should be maintained in the rights and privi-*  
 “ *leges they then enjoyed. 13tio. That the earl*  
 “ *of Douglas should be reponed to the lands en-*  
 “ *joyed by his father and uncle in England.*  
 “ *14to. That none of the grants made by the late*  
 “ *king Robert, or the present king David, or any*  
 “ *of their predecessors, should ever be recalled.*  
 “ *15to. That the merchants of Scotland should have*  
 “ *full*



“ full liberty of commerce and trade with the English,  
 “ and that they should not be obliged to go any where,  
 “ not even to Calais,” (which would seem to have  
 been then the staple port for English wool, their  
 greatest commodity in those days) “ but might pur-  
 “ chase wool in England itself, upon paying but half  
 “ a mark custom for the sack of it. 16to. That the  
 “ soveraign, wherever he should chance to be,  
 “ should always have by him a council of Scots peers  
 “ and lords, for the direction of Scots affairs. 17mo.  
 “ That he should impose no taxes on Scotland, but such  
 “ as had been paid to and exacted by the best of  
 “ Scots kings. 18vo. That he should not oblige  
 “ the Scots to serve in the wars, otherwise than  
 “ was usual before, nor to keep the field at their  
 “ own charges above forty days at a time; and  
 “ that if the exigency of affairs required any of  
 “ them to continue longer in the service, they  
 “ should be paid out of the exchequer, conform to  
 “ their rank and quality. 19no. That as often  
 “ as the soveraign should be crowned at Scoon,  
 “ the articles of this agreement should be read to  
 “ the king and people, and the former should  
 “ take an oath to keep them inviolable. 20mo.  
 “ In fine, that the king of England was willing  
 “ to grant, by the advice of his council, what-  
 “ ever

“ ever else the three communities of the kingdom  
 “ of Scotland should ask for their further security  
 “ and satisfaction.”

Such were the terms of alliance offered by the powerful, wise, and ambitious Edward III. to the Scots nation, when apparently reduced to the lowest ebb of power. These terms are so very distinct and explicit, that to consume either our own time, or that of the reader, in commenting on them, were altogether superfluous. The reader will, at first view, perceive how incomparably more honourable and advantageous they were, in every respect, than those agreed to by the Scots about four centuries after, when in circumstances the most favourable and prosperous imaginable. But however honourable, and however advantageous these terms of alliance proposed by Edward may appear to us, our forefathers, whose notions of things differed extremely from ours, were so jealous of the independency of their country, which they suspected, and I believe with reason, might be consequentially affected by so intimate a connection with their rich and powerful neighbours, that when their king communicated the projected treaty in parliament, they refused to permit it even to be reasoned on.

We

We read of no further attempts for bringing about this great object of an union, till the time of James I. of England, unless, perhaps, the very politick conduct of Henry VII. in bestowing on James IV. king of Scots, Margaret, the eldest of his two daughters, in preference to the French king, though the suit of the latter was supported by most of his counsellors, may be accounted such. Henry, on that occasion, very shrewdly observed, that in the event of his male descendants failing, it were better the crown of England should devolve on a Scottish than on a French monarch; because, as the former would naturally fix the seat of his government in the greater kingdom, his hereditary dominions would, by that means, become an accessory to those of England; whereas, by devolving on a French monarch, the very reverse would happen. Experience accordingly justified this sensible opinion of Henry; for it was as heir of this very marriage that James I. succeeded to the English throne, an event that was attended with the consequences so sagaciously predicted by king Henry.

James, very soon after his accession to the crown of England, formed a plan for effecting a more intimate union between his two kingdoms:

but



but his endeavours, as well as those of his grandson, Charles II. for the same purpose, proved abortive : it were unnecessary, therefore, to make particular mention of them.

At last the project of an union was resumed more seriously than ever by queen Ann, and appears very clearly to have been a capital object in the politicks of that princess's ministry, which was composed of the ablest statesman, without exception, that ever managed the affairs of England. Accordingly the success of the negotiation was answerable to the abilities of those by whom it was conducted; and a treaty of union, which had been so often attempted in vain, was, under their auspices, brought to a final conclusion between the two kingdoms, and that on terms so singularly advantageous and honourable for England, and so extremely disgraceful and ruinous for Scotland, that were they to be announced to Edward III. in the shades, the authority of an angel would be hardly sufficient to make him believe the intelligence.

As the introductory step to this important work, an act of the Scots parliament was very artfully obtained by the ministry, authorising the Queen to name the commissioners for Scotland,  
who

who were to settle the terms of Union with those for England, whom the Queen likewise named. This great point gained, the commissioners on both sides met for the first time on the 16th of April, 1706; and measures had been so prudently concerted, that, in spite of the numberless obstacles which must unavoidably have occurred, the articles of Union were finally agreed on before the 16th of July following.

Still, however, the most difficult part of the business remained, namely, to obtain a ratification of those articles by the parliament of Scotland. That they might have the fewer obstacles to encounter in this branch of the negotiation, the promoters of the Union had concealed, with the greatest care, the terms agreed on by the commissioners; because, being thoroughly sensible how extremely disagreeable they must prove to the people of Scotland, they were very desirous to avoid the consequences of the universal ferment which the first mention of them would create in that country.

Nothing therefore was certainly known in Scotland, with respect to the articles of the Union, till the whole treaty was at once laid before the Scots Parliament. But notwithstanding these pre-

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cautions,

cautions, no sooner were they generally known over the country, than all ranks testified such a degree of resentment and indignation as cannot be expressed. Nothing prevailed but an universal uproar; nothing was heard but vows of revenge, and the bitterest imprecations against those who had so basely betrayed the honour and interest of their country: addresses without number were presented to the parliament, remonstrating in the strongest terms against an union on the conditions proposed. In many places the people flew to arms, resolved, if all other means failed, to prevent by force the accomplishment of a measure in every view so infamous and detrimental. But such artful means had been used by the ministry, either to corrupt or overawe all the men of any influence, that no proper person appeared to head the general commotion.

The court party were however greatly alarmed, and thought it necessary, in order to provide for their personal security, as well as to facilitate the success of their operations, to practise the most tyrannical expedients. All the standing forces of the kingdom were assembled in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh; strong detachments were posted in the different quarters of that city; and the



the Parliament-house, in particular, was surrounded by a formidable body of guards : nay, the privy council ventured to issue a proclamation, commanding all persons to retire from the streets at a minute's warning, under the pain of being fired at by the guards, to whom a general indemnity was previously granted for all the fatal consequences of such firing.

In the mean time, measures of a very different nature, but more effectual than even the former, were successfully practised by the court party. As it had been foreseen from the beginning, that an Union, on the terms intended, would be in the last degree disgusting to the people of Scotland, and of consequence, would meet with a powerful opposition in their parliament, proper precautions for defeating such opposition had been very skillfully provided, namely, *a large sum of money to be transmitted into Scotland*. As the sum, judged necessary for this purpose, was too great either to be clandestinely abstracted from the English treasury, or conveyed without detection into Scotland, a method for obviating both these inconveniences was devised, on grounds truly just and reasonable : the sum of three hundred ninety eight thousand eighty five pounds was, by the

articles of Union, provided to the Scots, as an equivalent for such part of the English national debt as they should be burdened with in consequence of the Union. But tho' the pretence for allowing the Scots this money was highly equitable, yet the subsequent disposal of it plainly evinced, that it was really intended to procure a majority in the Scots parliament. Still, however, this sum, large as it was, proved insufficient to obtain the wished for ratification. Further sums therefore became necessary to insure the success of this decisive measure: and such sums were accordingly furnished by the English ministry; but in so secret a manner, that I have been able hitherto to discover with certainty only one remittance, tho' a pretty considerable one indeed, amounting to twenty thousand pounds, which was chiefly distributed among the leaders of a party in the Scots parliament, styled at the time, with great propriety, *the Squadron Volante*; who, after fluctuating long from side to side, both to acquire the reputation of integrity, and likewise to render themselves the more precious in the eyes of the ministry, in consequence of this money, ranged themselves immoveably with the  
court

court party, and thereby gave them the so much desired superiority of numbers.

But still, notwithstanding all the ministerial arts of promises, threats, and actual corruption, the treaty met with a most vigorous opposition within doors; where, without attempting to refute by argument the many unanswerable objections started against it, its promoters very wisely referred every point to a vote, by which means the treaty was at last ratified by a small majority in the parliament of Scotland.

As this treaty is in the hands of every body, and is perfectly well understood, a particular enumeration of its various articles would be altogether superfluous. Suffice it therefore to mention the substance of it in a few words. By the Union, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland are inseparably united into one, to be in all time coming denominated the kingdom of Great Britain: The supreme legislative authority of the whole kingdom is lodged in one and the same parliament, comprehending 772 members, of whom the representatives of Scotland are in number 61: Every native of the united kingdom is indiscriminately intitled to the same privileges, and subjected to the same restrictions, with the exceptions



ceptions to be afterwards taken notice of: The laws respecting government and public policy are to be the same throughout the whole united kingdom; but the municipal law of Scotland is declared unalterable, unless for the evident utility of the country.

From what has been said, it is clear, that this treaty of Union was brought about in Scotland, as Sir John Packington very roundly asserted at the time in the English House of Commons, "*by bribery and corruption within doors, and by force and violence without.*" But you, our brethren of England, must not conceive the worse opinion of the patriotism and integrity of the Scots in general, because you see on this occasion a small majority (it is truly amazing that it was not vastly greater) in their parliament bought for the sum of four hundred eighteen thousand pounds. The temptation was so prodigious, that I question not but, notwithstanding the incorruptible patriotism of the Englishmen of the present times, the Scots, by a skilful distribution of an equal sum in South Britain, might, in 1706, have obtained terms of union totally the reverse of those then imposed on them so much against their inclination. For an attentive review of the  
transactions

transactions in Europe, for the last fifty years, will shew us, that a much smaller sum has often produced a similar effect in assemblies far more respectable, in every view, than the ancient parliament of the poor country of Scotland.

Such is the history and general import of this famous treaty; which, with all due deference to the opinion of our late party writers, I will venture to pronounce *the most honourable and advantageous to England, and the most disgraceful and ruinous to Scotland*, that can be pointed out in the whole annals of mankind, as having ever been entered into by two independent states. This will no doubt appear strange and improbable to you, our countrymen of England, accustomed as you are to give implicit faith to all the impudent assertions of your present political oracles; who, not satisfied with representing the Scots as a generation of slaves, devoid of every generous sentiment, have, moreover, described us as a race of starving vultures, perpetually preying on the vitals of old England. This, being the insinuation those worthy gentlemen found the most effectual for alarming your jealousy against your unfortunate fellow subjects of the North, has been principally insisted on by them, and improved  
and

and heightened with the most valevolent ingenuity. As it is therefore highly proper you should be undeceived in this respect, I will proceed fairly to examine on which side the dishonour and disadvantage, resulting from this famous treaty, really lies.

If to forfeit, without any crime by them committed, nearly four fifths of the constituent members of its parliament of their most valuable privilege, that of governing themselves and their countrymen—If to transfer from its own hands all power over the lives and properties of its subjects—If to make a voluntary surrender of every mark of sovereignty and independency—In one word, If to constitute itself, by its own act and deed, a servile province of a rival kingdom, be accounted dishonourable in any state, all this was done by Scotland in consenting to the treaty of Union.

By annihilating their own parliament, and accepting in its place about a thirteenth part representation in that of England, without even insisting on the obvious and equitable condition of having all questions regarding Scotland, whose constitution and circumstances differed extremely from those of England, determined by a majority of the representatives of Scotland, the Scots acted like a man, who, after binding his hands and feet, should  
present



present his throat to the knife of his mortal enemy: nay, what was, if possible, more unaccountable still, they conferred on an English House of Peers, who, whatever knowledge the experience of sixty years has happily procured them in the laws and usages peculiar to Scotland, at the time of the Union made no pretensions to any, an uncontrollable power of deciding, in the last resort, all questions of private right that might arise among the inhabitants of Scotland; and thereby laid themselves under the necessity of travelling four or five hundred miles, at a monstrous expence too, before they can obtain an ultimate determination in the most trifling law suit.—In short, the Scottish Union-makers behaved exactly in the same manner as if the people of England should, at this moment, incorporate themselves with their neighbours of France, without demanding any other security for their so much extolled liberty than a twentieth part representation in the sovereign legislative court of that kingdom, supposing the form of government in both countries to be the same. How would an Englishman relish such a proposal? Let any person of common sense consider all these circumstances, and then candidly declare,

declare, whether a more disgraceful transaction could possibly be agreed to by a sovereign independent state: and whether any concessions or privileges, in the power of our neighbours to confer on us, could in any degree counterbalance the dishonour thence arising.

Nor was the Union less *ruinous* to Scotland, than it was dishonourable. This to be sure will appear to you, our countrymen of England, a very ridiculous paradox; but the fact is not for that the less true. Tho' before the Union we were, indeed, what, in spite of all the golden predictions with which our worthy Union-makers amused us, we still continue to be a very poor nation, nevertheless we possess resources sufficient for all the exigences of government, and that too without being oppressed by any taxes on the necessities of life, or having our commerce cramped by any heavy duties. But no sooner did the Union take place, than our wealthy friends of England were not ashamed, most unmercifully, to overwhelm us, poor as we were, with a grievous load of taxes, and almost to stifle our trade, inconsiderable as it was, with an infinity of customs and restrictions, to which we were before utter strangers: we were besides subjected, proportionally with them,

them, to the vast sum of seventeen millions of English national debt: a board of customs, and another of excise, two fruitful seminaries of a race of vermin, who live in idleness and luxury on the labours of their fellow citizens, were established amongst us: and our country was depopulated to furnish levies for supplying the ravages of a most bloody and ruinous continental war, with which we had before no manner of concern.

Nor is even this the full measure of our sufferings: two thirds of our country are disarmed, like an hostile province. Many of the most profitable offices of our customs and excise are bestowed on Englishmen, and these, for the most part, neither gentlemen nor men of merit, but the basest tools, and often the menial servants of English courtiers: Nay, of the five judges who compose one of our supreme courts, namely the Exchequer, the lord chief baron, and one of the ordinary barons, are always Englishmen. Besides all this, many material alterations have been made in our municipal law; among which, that in particular, subjecting us to the English law of treason, is by the people of Scotland unreasonably, perhaps, deemed detrimental rather than useful to their country: our Peerage are disgraced by a distinction, which their more numerous brethren of England have thought



thought proper to deduce, not directly, but by implication, from the articles of Union, namely, *That no peer of Scotland can be created a peer of Great Britain*, while, at the same time, the proportion of *English* peers is daily encreasing by a great number of new creations; a circumstance that to many sensible people appears extremely strange: and at last we have, as already observed, seen some English politicians arraign the appointment of a Scotsman to any of the great offices of state, as an attack on the English constitution. In fine, the numberless disadvantages, resulting to Scotland from the Union, were so quickly and so severely felt, that about five years after its commencement, the sixteen peers, representing Scotland in the upper house, though most of them had been very active in promoting that measure, were not ashamed openly to acknowledge the folly of their former conduct, and unanimously to move in the house of peers for a dissolution of the Union. But our English friends were too wise to gratify them in that particular. Could there possibly be a more convincing proof of the ruinous consequences entailed on the Scots by the treaty of Union?

Let us now inquire what mighty advantages

Scotland was to reap in return for all her invaluable concessions above enumerated. First then, the sum of 398,000*l.* was, as already noticed, allowed us as an equivalent for the proportion of the great debt due by England, to which we were subjected. This surely never can be accounted a favour to the Scots, since, in the fairest light, it was no more than the most rigorous justice. But it is a certain truth, that this great sum provided to the Scots, under so equitable a pretence, was, as already observed, really intended by the English ministry as a bribe to gain a majority in the Scots parliament, and at the same time to accomplish a very important private project of their own, namely the dissolution of the Scots African company. It is very extraordinary, that a great part of this money was, by an article of the Union, specifically destined to pay off the stock of that company; a measure so far from being advantageous to the people of Scotland, that it was in the last degree prejudicial to them, being a sacrifice, in favour of their English friends, of the only valuable privilege then left them. But not content with this sacrifice alone, the English obliged them to purchase it with the very money which

which was so very equitably provided to the Scots nation in general.

This great commercial company had been long beheld with a jealous eye by our Southern neighbours, who were justly apprehensive of its becoming in a little time a dangerous rival to their East India company, then a great favourite of their government. Its dissolution, therefore, had been strenuously insisted on by the English commissioners at the first conferences for an Union in the reign of Queen Ann, and the firmness of the Scots, in maintaining its interests, was the principal cause of the failure of that attempt. Between that period, however, and the year 1706, the African company had sustained considerable losses, chiefly through the jealousy between the English and Scots, so that the commissioners for England had then no great difficulty in persuading those for Scotland to give it up; and indeed the latter were so complaisantly disposed, that, in all probability, they would have complied as readily with the demands of their English friends in this respect, although the company had been in the most flourishing situation. The English, however, to shew their singular care for the interests of the company, obliged the Scots to pay  
up



up the whole capital stock, without deduction of any losses, together with interest at the rate of five per cent. This skilful management, as hinted above, answered a double purpose: it removed out of the way a formidable rival in the East India trade, and at the same time induced such of the proprietors, as were members of parliament, to promote the Union, in hopes of receiving at once so considerable a sum of money, which they had then no immediate prospect of ever recovering in any other manner.

But was it fair in the English, thus to oblige the Scots to make this private purchase for their behoof with the greatest part of the Equivalent, so justly provided to the people of Scotland in general, for the heavy burden of English debt that was, by the Union, imposed on them?— And was not the dissolution of this company, instead of an advantage to the Scots, the most valuable concession they could now make in favour of their Southern neighbours, after having already resigned every mark of freedom and independency? I will take upon me to affirm, that this resignation of their liberty, of trading to India, was more than an equal compensation for the privilege conferred on the Scots, by the Union,  
of

of trading to the English settlements in North America, and the West Indies. As for the remainder of this money, so improperly called *an Equivalent*, it is notorious, that it was most scandalously misapplied and embezzled. And it has been repeatedly asserted, without contradiction, that it was employed to fulfil the private engagements, previously entered into between our ministry and particular members of the Scots parliament, for obtaining their influence in support of the Union.

In the next place, an ease of about 50,000*l.* a year, in the article of land tax, was granted to the Scots by the Union. This, no doubt, is a real and unambiguous concession on the part of our English friends. But when it is considered, that notwithstanding the poverty of our country, with which you are continually upbraiding us, we pay at this moment the full proportion of every tax leviable in England, certainly this trifling ease cannot be accounted so great a favour; nay, by your own confession, it is highly reasonable: even rating it at its highest value, it would seem to be hardly an equal consideration for that extraordinary proportion, without taking into the account any other of the grievances, under which  
the

the people of Scotland are known to labour. We hold this ease however, trifling as it is, at the mercy of the British parliament, in which you, our countrymen of England, possess a majority of seven hundred and eleven voices.

I come now to consider what is generally accounted, both by English and Scots, the most valuable privilege of all conferred by the Union on the latter; namely, *Liberty of Commerce*. This was the grand argument with which the promoters of the Union answered all the objections moved against the treaty at that time. Those worthy patriots endeavoured to persuade the Scots, that the notions of independency and national honour, for the maintenance of which their forefathers had been so prodigal of their blood, were merely chimerical; that by resigning them, they transferred, from their own to their neighbours shoulders, an unnecessary and troublesome load; and, that instead of those ideal substances, they should in consequence of the liberty of Commerce, with which they were to be indulged, shortly possess solid treasures of gold and silver.

Here it is proper once more to recall the reader's attention to the terms of alliance proposed by Edward III. as already mentioned,

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where he will find this so much boasted Liberty of Commerce offered the Scots by that wise and powerful prince, after he had, to all appearance, reduced them to the last extremity, in as ample a manner as it is granted by the treaty of Union; and that without requiring any other sacrifice from the Scots in return, than their consent to a *federal* Union, by which “the name, title and  
 “dignity of the kingdom of Scotland, were to be  
 “honourably and inviolably preserved—The  
 “parliament of Scotland was to be holden within  
 “the bounds of Scotland—No Scotsman was to  
 “be called out of Scotland to be tried by any  
 “judicatory whatever—No taxes were to be im-  
 “posed upon the Scots but such as had been  
 “exactd by the best of the Scots kings—And  
 “all dignities and places of profit were to be con-  
 “ferred on none but Scotsmen:” yet, at a time when Scotland was in circumstances every way the reverse of those under which it laboured in the time of Edward III. even in its most prosperous days, every disadvantage, from which Edward offered to relieve us, was readily submitted to, and the honour and independency of our kingdom, which even the ambitious Edward respected, and expressed his willingness to secure,

were

were shamefully surrendered.—What a humiliating contrast between the conduct of the servile Unioners, and their magnanimous forefathers!—But the cause of this difference is sufficiently apparent: the leading men among the Scots, in the days of Edward III. were uniformly actuated by such patriotick sentiments, as in all ages and nations have produced the most glorious and heroick actions; they preferred, therefore, the honour and independency of their country to all the allurements of luxury and wealth. Unhappily for this country, many of their offspring were so degenerated, as to be no longer proof against these temptations. Hence they basely preferred their own private interest to the glory and welfare of their country.

But let us proceed to enquire, whether this *Liberty of Commerce* be of so great consequence as it has been represented, and whether our riches have really increased in proportion to the mighty professions of the Union-makers. The first step taken, respecting our commerce, was, as already noticed, the total suppression of our greatest commercial company, that which traded to Africa and the East Indies, that it might not interfere with the English East India company; which, in

consequence of great government encouragement, was then in a very flourishing situation. To accomplish this *national* purpose, a great part of the Equivalent was most unjustly applied ; so that the Scots were not only obliged, as already noticed, to surrender a privilege fully equal, in my opinion, to every commercial advantage conferred on them by the Union, but even to purchase this privilege from the private parties, in whom it was then invested, with their own money, although the benefit of it was wholly to redound to their neighbours of England. In the next place, the price of labour was considerably advanced, in consequence of the many taxes imposed on the most common necessities of life, and our trade was burdened with various customs and restrictions. These taxes and customs had been rendered necessary in England by the expence of government, but had never been before heard of in Scotland. Now, for my part, I cannot conceive, how the commerce of Scotland could possibly be advanced by these two measures, unless it can be shewn that commerce, like the camomile, the more it is oppressed, the more luxuriant it grows. But to come more directly to the point :

By



By the *Liberty of Commerce* granted to the Scots by the Union, no more could be meant than liberty to trade, under the restrictions already mentioned, to the English colonies, and to England itself; for our commerce with the other European states, with the Levant, and with the Spanish, French, and Dutch plantations, could not be by the treaty of Union enlarged, but indeed might be, and I believe was, restrained. Now, it is well known, that, at the time of the Union, the English settlements were, upon the whole, rather burdensome than beneficial to the mother country; and it is equally well known, that the state of prosperity, at which they are now arrived, is almost entirely owing to the treaty of Union; since in all probability, without the assistance of Scotland, they neither could have been so quickly conquered and peopled, nor so effectually defended during the course of the two last wars, but more particularly the last one, when the preservation of North America, and the conquests made both there and in the East and West Indies were almost wholly effected by Scottish troops.

The commercial advantages, therefore, derived to the Scots from the plantations, are, properly speaking, the fruits of their own labours, and extremely

trepreneur very dear bought too, considering the multitude of lives they have cost us. These advantages, however, are far from being so considerable as they are commonly imagined. I will not pretend to determine what the annual amount of them may exactly be ; but it is certain, that the American trade is almost exclusively confined to the corner about Glasgow : and we may judge pretty certainly of the wealth thence diffused into the rest of Scotland from this circumstance, that two private banks, established in Glasgow, not only employ all the cash to be found in that country, but are continually draining, with the outmost industry, from every other quarter of Scotland, the small quantity of specie still left amongst us, and yet, after all, find it difficult to answer the daily demands of their trifling circulation.

But it is likely, that in case the Union had never taken place, and our neighbours of England had never found it necessary to confer the privilege of a free trade upon us, in consideration of the efficacious assistance we could have afforded them in planting and defending their colonies, as well as protecting their country at home ; it is likely, I say, that they must have taken from us every commodity we at this moment furnish to the colonies : or if they had not taken these com-

modities off our hands, it is next to certain, the French and Spaniards would, and that even at a higher rate than we presently sell them for in America. In every view therefore, the profit derived to us from our commerce with the colonies, inconsiderable as this profit is, can with no propriety be placed to the account of the Union.

But I will go a step further, and venture to assert, that the intercourse with the English settlements, opened to us by the Union, so far from being an advantage, has proved the greatest misfortune that could have befallen us; for it has not only diverted our attention from a more certain and profitable trade, which it was in our power to have carried on with the other European states, and with the Levant, but it has, for the threefold purpose of conquering, peopling, and defending them, drained our country of so many of its most useful inhabitants, as an exclusive privilege of their commerce for a thousand years could in no degree compensate. And what valuable commodities have these plantations yielded us in return?—Instead of filling our country with the vast riches we were made to expect, they have brought us nothing but a few baneful articles of luxury.

But perhaps you may imagine, my countrymen, that the profit of our trade with England is



more than sufficient, singly, to counter-balance all the disadvantages brought upon us by the treaty of Union. But so far is this from being the case, that I will undertake to demonstrate, that our trade with England is itself the greatest of all these disadvantages. A direct and irrefragable proof of this, is the course of exchange between South and North Britain; which, notwithstanding the contiguity of the two countries, runs so much against the Scots, that, for these last six-years, London bills have, at a medium, sold in Edinburgh for the extravagant premium of two per cent.

Again—Those, who are the best acquainted with the commercial affairs of Scotland, assure us, that the annual balance, arising in our favour from our foreign trade, amounts at least to three hundred thousand pounds.\* So great a sum as

\* The natural productions of Scotland, not to speak of a variety of manufactures, for which the people, from their ingenuity, capacity, and sobriety, seem well fitted, are such, that from their universal use, they must force a demand every where, and can never leave the country which produces them destitute of specie and commodities. The principal are immense quantities of pit coal of the best sort; lead, and to which we may add iron, black cattle, and consequently hides, an article of universal consumption: but the capital article of all is fish of the very best sorts, with which the rivers, bays, and seas of that country, swarm in such a manner, that if matters were managed with a proper spirit, the fishery of Newfoundland, great as it is, would be of little consequence in comparison of that of Scotland.

this, annually flowing into our country, must, one would naturally imagine, literally fulfil the predictions of our Union-makers, and soon make Scotland a land of Ophir indeed. But alas ! so far is this from being the case, that we can by no means procure the small quantity of specie requisite for carrying on our manufactures, being obliged to employ, for this most necessary purpose, a paper currency to an alarming extent. Nay, the little specie we actually possess is brought us from England, at so great an expence, that the sum, required for supporting the circulation of the two national banks, costs them about four thousand pounds a year. But it will no doubt be here asked, what then becomes of this sum of three hundred thousand pounds annually gained to your country by its foreign trade ? I will answer the question in very few words. The four articles of broad cloth, hardware, millinery goods, and porter,\* furnished us by you, our friends of

\*To what a height our consumption of English commodities has increased since the Union, may be estimated from the vast importation to Leith alone ; and in what light of importance they view this branch of trade, is best shewn by the keanness with which they solicit it, their riders swarming to the *most remote corners* of Scotland in quest of custom. *North Briton Extraordinary, published at Edinburgh, 1765.*

England, are well known to draw from Scotland thrice the amount of all the commodities you receive from us. Now, when we likewise bring into the account the infinite number of other articles imported into Scotland from South Britain, such as leather, hats, wool, together with East India and grocery goods of every denomination, we shall have little difficulty to discover what becomes of the large balance above mentioned, annually brought into Scotland by its foreign trade.

But still this is far from being the whole of the loss, in point of pecuniary interest, resulting to North Britain from its present connexion with England. In consequence of the seat of government being confined to England, several of our richest noblemen† are induced to reside *constantly* in that country : of the rest of that wealthy body, four fifths, reckoning by the extent of their fortunes, live there nine months of the year at least, partly out of choice, partly to attend their duty in parliament : our representatives in the House  
this

† Notwithstanding all the foolish sneering of the author of the North Briton, the nobility of Scotland are, in general, as *independent* in their fortunes, and perhaps more so than those of England. Of this I might quote many particular instances, but the task would be equally impertinent and unnecessary. Let this *begging Patriot*, therefore, amuse himself at pleasure with the poverty of Scottish nobility.



of Commons, together with many other gentlemen of the greatest estates in Scotland, follow the example of the nobility: nay, almost every person possess of five hundred a year, and many whose income is much less, generally visit London once in three or four years; where, in the space of a month or two, they spend, with ridiculous profusion, the full amount perhaps of their annual revenue. When we reflect on all this, and likewise on the extravagant expence of prosecuting Scots appeals before the House of Peers, we may form some idea of the vast sums constantly passing into England from this *poor despised* Northern corner, which is really poor and contemptible, solely in consequence of its connection with England.\*

It was strongly urged by the promoters of the Union, and will no doubt be here objected to

\* It is pleasant enough to observe, that the same people who charge poverty on the Scots as their greatest crime, and rail at the Ministry for bestowing a trifling sum towards building a bridge (cross the Tweed) that rests only one abutment in Scotland, have not been ashamed to receive, from the public, thousands and ten thousands for repairing the old crazy and ill-contrived bridge of London; and that, at this moment, the poorest peasant in Scotland is actually taxed his proportion, for the great and national object of paving the streets of that opulent metropolis, in imitation of Edinburgh, and of bringing mackerels and sprats a halfpenny a pound cheaper to the tables of the wealthy Londoners.

me, " that, in consequence of the Union, we live  
 " in a state of ease and security, and thence have  
 " leisure to improve our country, to encrease our  
 " manufactures, and to extend our commerce."

This argument, allowing it all the force its supporters can desire, is precisely that of a mean spirited coward, and might be urged, with equal propriety, to persuade every free and independent people to resign their freedom to the first powerful enemy who should attempt to subdue them.—" Why, my countrymen," might some corrupted declaimer in such a case say, " Why  
 " expose ourselves to certain death and destruction, when, by submitting to this formidable  
 " enemy, we may readily purchase peace; and,  
 " by becoming a submissive ally, not only live  
 " free of all apprehension from that quarter for  
 " the future, but, under the protection of their  
 " arms, employ ourselves in improving our country, advancing our manufactures, and extending our commerce." Every soul, animated by the smallest spark of liberty, must undoubtedly hold in abhorrence so dastardly a counsel. Whoever had dared barely to insinuate such a proposal to the barons of Scotland in the days of  
 Edward

Edward III. had assuredly experienced the treatment his baseness deserved, and been branded with everlasting infamy.

But I do maintain, that these benefits might have been much more effectually attained, had we continued to live with you, our English friends, on the same footing on which we were living with you at the time of the Union, and had lived with you for more than a century before, professing allegiance to the same Sovereign—ever ready, when applied to in a proper manner, to co-operate with you, on an equal footing, in all measures that regarded either the honour of that Sovereign, or the general interests of the island—but continuing still to act as an independent state, subject to no laws but those enacted by its own Parliament, enforced and explained by its own supreme courts of justice.

Then we should have run no danger of having any laws imposed on us that were repugnant to the nature of our constitution, or incompatible with the circumstances of our country; nor of having, at any time, (for at present there is certainly not the least ground for such a supposition) either our excellent municipal law misinterpreted, or our private properties disposed of, in the last resort, by  
judges



judges not sufficiently conversant in the laws and usages peculiar to Scotland: for altho' the present Parliament of Great Britain testifies the utmost abhorrence of those pernicious doctrines advanced by the author of the North Britain and his imitators, and in its conduct, towards every part of the united kingdom, invariably pursues the same rules of the most impartial justice; and altho' the House of Peers, in particular, displays, on every occasion, a perfect knowledge in the law of Scotland, and a singular regard for that law; yet who can tell how far such doctrines may be harkened to in some remote period; and whether the most honourable House of Peers shall *always* continue as supremely just and learned as it is at present? Gentlemen of greatest abilities and fortune, being then necessarily confined within the limits of their own country, must have considered themselves as more intimately concerned in the welfare of that country, and thence would have had it more in their power, as well as inclination, to have promoted its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and at the same time to have bestowed more particular attention on the other minute particulars or internal police—Then also, in all probability, we should

should have been in a great measure free of the immense load of taxes with which we are now oppressed, to the extent of near twelve shillings in the pound, and by that means should have been enabled to undersell every rival in manufactures, as the price of labour must then have been so much cheaper—Nor would our commerce have been burdened and confined by such numberless imposts and restrictions—We should likewise have been at liberty, either totally to restrain our losing trade with England, which at present drains us of all the money that our commerce with the other states of Europe procures us, or at least to have put it under such regulations as might have rendered it less pernicious to the community, and at the same time a very considerable branch of publick revenue.

But what is of more importance still, our country would not then have been so miserably drained of her bravest sons, to fight the battles of our wealthy neighbours, and in their quarrel to perish in the inhospitable climes of America, or enrich, with their blood, the fatal plains of Hanover: nor would the disfigured remains of them that had escaped the dangers and fatigues of war, have experienced the bitterest of all mortification

tification, that of being ungratefully insulted by the very people, in whose cause they had suffered so many hardships—Then, instead of having two thirds of our country shamefully disarmed as an hostile province, and being on all occasions treated with the most provoking contumely, our friendship had been courted by our English neighbours, who must soon have learned to regard us as their most natural and useful allies—And, finally, instead of being so grievously taxed to support the expences of their government, we had been enriched with subsidies, and indulged with every encouragement of commerce we might have thought proper to desire; for, if *the Landgrave of Hesse* alone received, annually, from this kingdom above four hundred thousand pounds for furnishing only about twenty thousand men, (of whom no doubt a sufficient number were *buckram men*) to defend a country in which he was infinitely more concerned than we were, what might not the Scots have expected for furnishing, during the course of last war, upwards of seventy thousand men, and those the bravest of the whole British army.

After what has been already said, it is surely unnecessary to be particular in pointing out the many advantages derived from this treaty of



Union to you, our fellow subjects of England, since every article of loss and dishonour on our part, is evidently an article of gain and honour on yours. Your commercial advantages alone amount, as already observed, to three hundred thousand pounds a year at least—By acquiring the absolute sovereignty of the extensive territory of Scotland, inhabited by as hardy and brave a race of men as any in the world, you have entirely secured yourselves from all further disturbance from a People, who, in former times, had proved the most dangerous of your enemies; and with their assistance you have been enabled not only to plant, protect, and extend your colonies, but likewise to vanquish the combined strength of the two powerful houses of Austria and Bourbon, who, but a little while ago, singly aspired to the sovereignty of all the rest of Europe.

In this manner have I endeavoured to prove, even to the conviction of every *Englishman* of sense and candour, that the treaty of Union, by which South and North Britain are at present so intimately connected, was brought about by the grossest corruption, contrary to the universal inclination of the people of Scotland, to whom, it is hard to say, whether it be more dishonourable or

ruinous ; and that, on the other hand, instead of being disgraceful or prejudicial to England, as your late political writers have malevolently insinuated, it is its greatest advantage, and its highest honour.

In the course of this inquiry, I have been unwillingly obliged to mention many melancholy circumstances on the part of my countrymen of the North—Circumstances which, however painful and galling, were by time almost worn from our remembrance, when they were so wickedly and unwisely revived by the ignominious treatment we have of late received at the hands of you our neighbours of the South. We hope, however, the knowledge of these circumstances shall incline you to regard, for the future, your brethren of North Britain in a more favourable light; as you will thence perceive what inestimable concessions we have made, and to what numberless disadvantages we at present submit to obtain the sole privilege of being received on an equal footing with you, as subjects of the same Sovereign, and of the same government; a privilege to which, even without such concessions, we were in every respect well intitled.

Upon the whole, we doubt not that our fellow subjects of England shall, on cool deliberation, reflect with indignation on the flagitious attempts

of those factious great men, and their infamous tools; who, on the one hand, by artfully instilling into *your* minds groundless and injurious suspicions of the Scots, and on the other, by loading the Scots with the most provoking terms of abuse, have endeavoured to kindle up the flame of discord on this otherwise happy island, to destroy that harmony which constitutes our only strength and security, and provoke us to embroil our hands in the blood of one another.---How ungenerous! how inhuman! nay, how ungrateful! must the conduct of you, our brethren of England, appear to yourselves, as well as to the rest of the world, when you shall reflect on your having  
 \* insulted and maltreated, in the very streets of your metropolis, your most affectionate and useful

\* This particularly alludes to a very extraordinary and almost incredible fact. Sometime after the conclusion of the late peace, two officers of a Highland regiment, both of them dressed in their proper uniforms, happened to drop into the pit of one of the theatres before the play began. Both of them had been wounded, and shewed honourable scars received in the service of their country. It might have been naturally expected, that if taken notice of at all, they would have been received with a loud plaudit. So far from it, they were received with an universal hiss, and a cry, No Bute! no Scotch! The English are said to be a generous people, and undoubtedly they are so in general. ? They are said to value bravery in an enemy, how much more ought they to respect it in friends and allies, especially in those who bear the marks of having suffered in their cause. This anecdote shews the dreadful effects of party animosity, and how far national prejudices, founded on the silliest prepossessions, may warp men from their most established principles and universal feelings.



fellow subjects, who have been so prodigally lavish of their blood to render you victorious and great, and who are still ready, provided they be treated but with common indulgence, to confront, in your defence, death and danger under every shape ?

If, however, after all, you shall continue to look upon us in the same unfavourable light in which we have of late been represented to you, *Dissolve*, we entreat you, the bond that unites us, and generously restore us to our original independency ; for remember this is in *your* power, not in *ours*. But, at any rate, forbear to insult us any longer, lest you may find more reason than you expect to repent of your imprudence in driving us to extremity ; for, poor and contemptible as you seem to suppose us, we can still bring to the field, without much difficulty, sixty thousand of the bravest men in Europe.

F I N I S.

